

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

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R 171609Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8535

INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY LIMA

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1905

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AMGT, PEPR, XM, CI

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S GOALS AND OBJECTIVES -- PART II

REF: SANTIAGO 1120 (NOTAL)

I AND II - OVERVIEW AND KEY POLICY ISSUES

1. US INTERESTS IN CHILE RELATE OVERWHELMINGLY TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE KEY POLICY ISSUES INVOLVE THE GENERAL STRATEGY THAT SHOULD GOVERN US/CHILE RELATIONS. LONGER-TERM US INTERESTS IN CHILE WILL BE SERVED BEST BY MORE RAPID, BUT PEACEFUL, TRANSITION FROM MILITARY TO CIVILIAN DEMOCRATIC RULE. US POLICY CAN ASSIST BUT NOT DIRECT THAT COURSE. IN REFTEL I RECOMMENDED A POLICY OF COOL DISDAIN TOWARD CHILE. I REJECTED AS POLITICALLY IMPRACTICAL A STRATEGY OF WORKING THROUGH THE PINOCHET REGIME TO ACHIEVE HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENT. I OPPOSED A DESTABILIZATION/INTERVENTION POLICY ON BOTH PRACTICAL AND ETHICAL GROUNDS. ON THE ONE HAND WE CONDEMN THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN CHILE SINCE 1973 AND DO NOT WANT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH PLANS FOR ES-
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TABLISHING A "PROTECTED DEMOCRACY." ON THE OTHER WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND PINOCHET HIMSELF RETAIN SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT AND THAT EXTERNAL PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, PARTICULARLY IF IT CAN BE PORTRAYED AS DISCRIMINATORY AND POLITICALLY MOTIVATED, CARRIES A HIGH RISK OF NATIONALISTIC REACTION. IN OTHER WORDS, THERE IS AN IMPORTANT DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN ISOLATION AND INTERVEN-

TION. IN ESSENCE, WE NEED TO STRUCTURE OUR APPROACH FOR A LONGER HAUL, RECOGNIZING THAT REAL CHANGE IN CHILE MUST COME FROM CHILEANS THEMSELVES.

2. A CONCOMITANT OF THE COOL DISDAIN APPROACH IS THAT WE HAVE LESS LEVERAGE TO PURSUE OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES THAN WOULD BE THE CASE IF WE FOLLOWED A HUMAN RIGHTS STRATEGY OF WORKING WITH THE REGIME. THE ONLY POTENTIAL DANGER TO AN IMPORTANT INTEREST INVOLVES REGIONAL STABILITY. AN OVERALL POLICY OF COOL DISDAIN TOWARD CHILE MAY ENCOURAGE ARGENTINA OR PERU TO SEEK MILITARY SOLUTIONS TO BORDER DISPUTES. WE DO NOT NOW RATE THAT PROSPECT HIGH. SHOULD THE SITUATION DETERIORATE US POLICY OPTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE REASSESSED.

GOALS:

I. CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT IN OBSERVANCE OF PERSONAL RIGHTS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE WITH EMPHASIS ON ELIMINATION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS.

II. MAKE ABUSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES LESS LIKELY.

OBJECTIVES:

(1) INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON
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(2) RELEASE OF REMAINING POLITICAL PRISONERS

(3) UN AND OAS VISITS

(1) REESTABLISH FULL CIVILIAN DUE PROCESS

(2) RATIFICATION OF INTER-AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- MAINTAIN PRESENT SANCTIONS IN PLACE AND HOLD OUT NO HOPE THEY WILL BE LIFTED. (THE ESSENTIAL POINT IS THAT WE DO NOT PLAN TO RESPOND TO INDIVIDUAL IMPROVEMENTS OTHER THAN BY DIPLOMATIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT. WE DO NOT WANT TO REDUCE THE PRESSURE FOR FULL RESTORATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS BY PIECEMEAL LIFTING OF SANCTIONS.)

-- IN THE CONTEXT OF WORLD-WIDE APPLICATION OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, CONTINUE TO SPEAK PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CHILE -- - BUT WITH A FRE-

QUENCY AND MANNER OF DIALOGUE THAT NEITHER ENCOURAGES THE GOC TO EXPECT RAPID IMPROVEMENT OF US/CHILE RELATIONS, NOR ALLOWS IT RALLY SUPPORT AGAINST OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. IN THIS, REACT PARTICULARLY STRONGLY TO PUNISHMENTS METED OUT TO PERSONS PEACEFULLY DISSENTING FROM THE REGIME'S CURRENT RESTRICTIONS, THEREBY ALSO ADVANCING OUR INTERESTS IN RESTORING DEMOCRACY (GOAL III) AND IN PROMOTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC EQUITY (GOAL V).

-- IN THE UN AND OAS CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ON-SITE VISITS BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS (UNHRC AND IAHR), DRAWING UPON USG LEVERAGE RESULTING FROM EFFORTS TO GENERALIZE HUMAN RIGHTS ATTENTION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

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-- ENCOURAGE CHILEAN RATIFICATION OF INTER-AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT WITHOUT OFFERING ANY REWARDS.

-- CONTINUE TO WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (PARTICULARLY ICEM) TO PROMOTE THE RELEASE OF THE REMAINING POLITICAL PRISONERS.

-- RESPOND TO POSITIVE CHILEAN ACTIONS BY DIPLOMATIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT AT APPROPRIATE LEVEL (E.G. THE MARCH 10 LIFTING OF THE STATE OF SIEGE DESERVES PRIVATE MENTION HERE AND IN WASHINGTON TO GOC OFFICIALS, AND COULD BE INCLUDED IN A PROXIMATE SPEECH OR NEWS CONFERENCE BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN; THE FUTURE RELEASE OF A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THE REMAINING POLITICAL PRISONERS WOULD MERIT SIMILAR

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TREATMENT; BY CONTRAST, THE RELEASE OF THE ARICA 12 DID NOT DESERVE APPROBATION -- IT WAS A RETURN TO GROUND ZERO, NOT A POSITIVE STEP).

GOAL:

III. THE PEACEFUL RETURN OF THE GOC TO CIVILIAN, CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

OBJECTIVES:

(1) ACCELERATION OF PRESENT TRANSITION SCHEDULE.

(2) PARTICIPATION OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND LABOR MOVEMENT IN DETERMINING THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF FUTURE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PROCESS.

(3) RESTORATION OF FREEDOMS OF PETITION, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY, INCLUDING TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES.

COURSES OF ACTION:

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-- THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THIS GOAL WILL BE MADE BY ENSURING BASIC RIGHTS OF THE PERSON (SEE GOALS I AND II AND COURSES OF ACTION THEREUNDER). CHILEAN POLITICAL LEADERS, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE LABOR SECTOR, WILL INCREASINGLY SPEAK OUT ON THE TRANSITION PROCESS AND TIMING, AND ON FUTURE INSTITUTIONAL FORMS, AS GUARANTEES OF PERSONAL INTEGRITY BECOME MORE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED.

-- EXPAND USG CONTACTS WITH ALL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ELEMENTS, MAKING SURE THAT THE GOC IS AWARE OF OUR INCREASED COURTING OF THE "OPPOSITION." (A SECONDARY BENEFIT OF THIS EXPANDED EFFORT WILL BE TO REDUCE OUR PRESENT OVER-IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.)

-- USE THE IVP TO INFLUENCE THOSE SUPPORTERS OF THE PRESENT REGIME WHO HAVE INDICATED CLEAR DEMOCRATIC SYMPATHIES

OR DOUBTS REGARDING PRESENT POLITICAL PLANS AND DIRECTIONS,
AND TO SIGNAL THE GOC OUR CONTINUING STRONG SUPPORT FOR
DEMOCRATIC LEADERS.

-- RETAIN AN AIFLD PRESENCE IN SANTIAGO TO PROVIDE
SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS.

GOAL:

IV. REDUCTION OF REGIONAL TENSIONS.

OBJECTIVE:

(1) CONFLICT AVOIDANCE THROUGH FEAR OR MISCALCULATION.
COURSES OF ACTION:

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-- CONVEY OFFSETTING APPRAISALS OF POTENTIAL
AGGRESSORS' INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES, AS DOCUMENTED AND
APPROPRIATE.

-- SHOULD RISK OF BELLIGERENCY INCREASE, MAKE CLEAR
TO ALL THREE PARTIES THAT AGGRESSION WOULD REQUIRE IMMEDI-
ATE HALTING OF ALL US BILATERAL ASSISTANCE (MAINLY A
DETERRENT AGAINST PERU).

OBJECTIVE:

(2) CONTINUATION OF BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR AND BEAGLE
CHANNEL NEGOTIATIONS.

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- INTEGRATE LOW-KEY SUGGESTIONS TO GOC WITH SUB-
REGIONAL POLICY ON BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR (ONCE WE HAVE ONE).

-- IF APPROACHED BY GOC REGARDING BEAGLE CHANNEL,
URGE CONTINUATION OF BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

OBJECTIVE:

(3) REGIONAL CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONSTRAINT.
COURSES OF ACTION:

-- DEVELOP COHERENT REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT POLICY.

-- RAISE DIRECTLY WITH GOC IF NECESSARY, BUT PREFER-
ABLY SUPPORT REGIONAL INITIATIVE FROM OTHER HEMISPHERIC
POWER OR INTERNATIONAL/REGIONAL BODY.

OBJECTIVE:

(4) PROMOTE US SECURITY INTERESTS AND MAINTAIN MILI-
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TARY RELATIONSHIPS SUPPORTIVE OF THE BROAD RANGE
OF US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- MAINTAIN MILGP FOR PRESENT, BUT WITH REDUCTION
TO 6 US POSITIONS IN FY-79, THE MIX BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND
MILITARY TO BE DETERMINED BY DOD.

-- INVITE CONTINUED GOC PARTICIPATION IN UNITAS.

-- MAINTAIN PRESENT LOW LEVEL OF MILITARY EXCHANGES,
UNLESS HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS DICTATE TOTAL ELIMINATION.

-- SCHEDULE ONE VISIT PER YEAR BY A RANKING CINCSO
OFFICER.

GOAL:

V. BALANCED ECONOMIC GROWTH.

OBJECTIVE:

(1) WITHIN HUMAN RIGHTS CONSTRAINTS SUPPORT ECONOMIC
RECOVERY.

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- MAINTAIN ACCURATE MONITORING OF LOCAL ECONOMIC PIC-
TURE (ALSO GOAL VI, BELOW).

-- MAINTAIN NORMAL COMMERCIAL TIES.

-- AS NEEDED PROVIDE US INVESTORS, BANKERS AND TRADERS
WITH COMPREHENSIVE AND OBJECTIVE BRIEFINGS ON CHILEAN SCENE,
INCLUDING US POLICY TOWARDS CHILE, AS WELL AS WITH NORMAL
FACILITATIVE SERVICES.

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OBJECTIVE:

(2) IMPROVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EQUITY.

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- MAINTAIN TITLE II PROGRAMS AT APPROXIMATELY SAME LEVELS.

-- CLEAR THE WAY FOR OPG AND SDA FUNDING OF PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES;

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-- MAINTAIN IAF ACTIVITIES.

-- AS APPROPRIATE, APPLY "DIRECTLY BENEFIT NEEDY"
EXCEPTIONS TO HARKIN AND SIMILAR AMENDMENTS GOVERNING
US VOTING IN IFIS, BUT ACCOMPANY US VOTE WITH UNEQUIVOCAL
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE THAT EXCLUDES APPEARANCE OF SUPPORT
FOR GOC.

OBJECTIVE:

(3) RESPONSIBLE DEBT MANAGEMENT.
COURSE OF ACTION:

--EXTEND NORMAL COMMERCIAL FACILITATION TO US BANKS
ENGAGED IN REFINANCING CHILEAN DEBT.

GOAL:
VI. MAINTENANCE OF US COMMERCIAL INTERESTS.

OBJECTIVE:

(1) INCREASE US EXPORTS TO CHILE.

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- SUPPORT TRADE PROMOTION EVENTS, INCLUDING SANTIAGO

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INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AND GROUP VISITS.

- REPORT COMMERCIAL OPPORTUNITIES.

-- MAINTAIN WTDR, ADS AND SIMILAR REPORTING.

-- PROVIDE NORMAL FACILITATIVE ASSISTANCE TO US EX-
PORTERS.

-- MAKE USE OF EXIM AND CREDITS, AS CONDITIONS
AND OPPORTUNITIES WARRANT.

OBJECTIVE:

(2) MAINTAIN NON-DISCRIMINATORY ACCESS FOR US BANKERS,
TRADERS AND INVESTORS.

COURSE OF ACTION:

-- PROTEST AT HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL ANY ARBITRARY
OR DISCRIMINATORY DENIAL TO US BUSINESSMEN OF COMMERCIAL
OPPORTUNITIES GRANTED TO BUSINESSMEN OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

GOAL:

VII. NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION.

OBJECTIVES:

(1) WAIVE RESERVATIONS TO TLATELOLCO

(2) CHILEAN SIGNATURE OF NPT

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- URGE GOC IN LOW-KEY BUT PERSISTENT WAY TO UNLINK
ITS POSITION FROM THAT OF ARGENTINA; BUT WITHOUT SUGGESTING
ANY US POLICY INCENTIVE.

-- SEEK ARGENTINE ADHERENCE TO TREATIES.

GOAL:

VIII. SUPPRESSION OF NARCOTICS TRAFFIC

OBJECTIVE:

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MAINTAIN GOC COOPERATION

COURSES OF ACTION:

-- CONTINUE DEA PRESENCE AT CURRENT LEVELS.

-- SCHEDULE VISIT DURING FY-78 BY NARCOTICS ADVISER

MATHEA FALCO

-- PROCEED WITH EXTRADITION REQUESTS FOR DRUG
TRAFFICKERS WANTED IN THE US FOR PROSECUTION.

GOAL:

IX. COOPERATION ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES.

OBJECTIVES:

- (1) GOC ADOPTION OF PRAGMATIC POSITIONS IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.
- (2) GOC MODERATE POSITION ON LOS MATTERS.
- (3) GOC SUPPORT FOR US POSITIONS ON COPPER AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS, AND RESPONSIBLE GOC ACTION ON COMMON FUND.

COURSES OF ACTION:

- USE TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS TO BRING USG POSITIONS TO GOC'S ATTENTION.
- DO NOT ASK GOC TO "DO US A FAVOR" ON THESE ISSUES; CURRENT COMPATIBILITY ON ECONOMIC ISSUES RESTS LARGELY ON GOC APPRAISAL OF WHERE ITS BEST INTERESTS LIE AND WE DO NOT FORESEE MAJOR REVISIONS OF THE GOC'S ECONOMIC WORLD VIEW; ON POLITICAL ISSUES WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO OFFER SIGNIFICANT INCENTIVES.

GOAL:

X. CONSULAR CONVENTION

OBJECTIVE:

NEGOTIATE ONE WITH THE GOC.

COURSES OF ACTION:

- INFORM GOC THAT WE WISH TO AND ARE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE A CONSULAR CONVENTION.

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- PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS, IF AND AS GOC WILLING AND PREPARED.

GOAL:

XI. ENHANCE BILATERAL COMMUNICATION AND LINKAGES.

OBJECTIVE:

STRENGTHEN TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES

COURSE OF ACTION:

- MAINTAIN ICA PROGRAM AT LEVEL CONSISTENT WITH US INTERESTS AND DOMESTIC CONDITIONS.

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